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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1858

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ROMANIAN LAW ORGAN DISCUSSES YUGOSLAV LEGAL SYSTEM

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT in Romanian Nov 80 pp 72-77

[Article by Dr Victor Dan Zlatescu]

[Text] 1. The multiple ties existing between Yugoslavia and Romania, the large-scale economic projects that are being completed jointly, and the political, economic, and cultural exchanges which are continuously growing, involving the traffic of people, of goods and other economic assets, make knowledge of the Yugoslav legal system a requirement, just as knowledge of the Romanian legal system has, in its turn, become necessary to legal science and legal practice in Yugoslavia.

"I am confident" -- Nicolae Ceausescu stated in regard to the prospects for the many-sided development of Romanian-Yugoslav ties -- "that the agreements which we have reached with respect to expanding cooperation in production, to achieving new organizational forms, which would assure the continuity of this cooperation, will be of outstanding importance for our economic and technicoscientific relations and relations in all areas." [1]

In the following passages we will try to describe a few defining factors of the Yugoslav private legal system, desirous as we are of providing an input, if not into the full knowledge of the legal principles in that country, at least into describing a few factors that permit the comprehension of the uniqueness of this legal system and of a few of its essential traits.

Among the legal systems of socialist states, the Yugoslav legal system has certain specific features. These are explained by the federal structure of the Yugoslav state and by particular characteristics of the mode in which was built the legal system, in whose context the system of the legal sources itself has assumed a specific physiognomy, especially in relation to the specific content which some concepts such as self-direction and self-management acquire in sociopolitical literature and consequently, in the legal field as well.

A brief historical review of the manner in which the Yugoslav legal system has developed is necessary.

Yugoslavia, a composite state, that emerged after World War I, incorporating a number of territories which previously were under the dominance of other European states, territories which had joined the former Serbian state, maintained on these territories -- in an action similar to that of the Czechoslovak state, that emerged during the same period -- the civil, commercial and even the criminal law of the states that previously ruled these territories. For example, prior to liberation, there were a variety of regulatory acts in force in Yugoslavia. In Serbia and Macedonia, for instance, the 1844 Serbian Civil Law remained in force, in Croatia and Slavonia in force was the Austrian Civil Law (A.B.G.B.) in the form prior to the important novels of 1914, 1915 and 1916. In Slovenia and Dalmatia -- other territories that had belonged to the same Austrian Empire -- the Austrian Law had remained in effect, but this time with the changes entailed by the abovementioned novels. In Vojvodina, the Hungarian law, in its modified form was in force. In Bosnia and Hercegovina, applied concurrently were the Koranic law -- for the Muhammadan population -- and the Austrian Civil Law, for the rest of the population, whereas in Montenegro, a local law, consisting of the 1888 Overall Montenegrin Law and other regulatory acts.

The Yugoslav bourgeois state did not succeed in doing away with this diversity of regulatory acts and in commencing -- in spite of all the efforts made -- a process of codification and legal unification.

A brief survey of the constitutional evolution apparently is necessary for understanding the manner in which the socialist legal system came into being in Yugoslavia.

The first Constitution adopted after liberation, the one in 1946, proceeded from the principle of the existence of three forms of ownership over the means of production: state, cooperative, and private. On the basis of this constitution, the nationalization of the major means of production took place between 1946 and 1948. The Constitution proclaimed the federative principle of the organization of the state, thus recognizing the autonomy of the component republics.

In developing the principles of the Constitution, some paramount regulatory acts in the area of private law were adopted, such as the Law on Marriage, the Law on Relations Between Parents and Children, the Law on Adoption, and, in 1951, the Penal Code.

The 1946 Constitution underwent a profound change in 1953. Under the Constitutional Law on the bases of socioeconomic organization in the People's Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and on the federal organs of power, all the provisions of the old Constitution -- except those on the citizens' rights and freedoms -- were repealed. For 10 years, until 1963, when a new constitution was adopted, an heterogenous constitutional system operated, the matter being regulated by the title that remained in effect from the old fundamental law, to which the constitutional provisions of the abovementioned law were added.

The system contained the seeds of the new forms of socialist organization of the state and society, and of enterprises, proceeding from the idea of self-management. A law on the management of state enterprises and of economic associations specified, to this effect, that management was supposed to be exercised by the work collectives, in the context of social ownership -- a concept which has been amply expanded in the Yugoslav sociopolitical and legal literature.

The evolution outlined in this fashion was confirmed in the 1963 Constitution. A number of amendments adopted in 1968 and 1971 considerably broadened the sphere for the exercise of self-management, the rights and duties of working people, their profit-sharing.

The adoption of the Constitution of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia on 12 February 1974 marked the country's entering a new stage of development of society, but also of the socialist legal system. [2]

A paramount regulatory act adopted after the Constitution is the Law on Associated Work, of 25 November 1976, a comprehensive charter of working people's participation in running society and economic units.

The first characteristic ingredient of the Yugoslav socialist legal system results from the federal structure of the state. The distribution of powers between the federation organs, on the one hand, and the organs of the autonomous republics and provinces, on the other hand, necessitates the distinction between two categories of laws: federal law and the law of each individual republic or province. As specified by the Constitution, the laws of the republics and provinces may not contradict the federal laws. Consequently, a constitutional court is responsible for monitoring the observance of the Constitution and the ensuring of the supremacy of the federal laws.

As it is easily previsible, conflicts of law occur frequently between the provisions in the laws of the different republics or provinces. Hence, a true law of conflicts of law without conflict of sovereignty has developed, proceeding from an interesting law on the conflicts of laws and on competence in the relations of personal status, family, and inheritance, of 27 February 1979. [3]

The evolution of civil law is closely tied to the evolution of constitutional provisions mentioned above.

After the war, the new Yugoslav socialist state proceeded to repealing all the prior laws. Under a law on the lack of validity of the legal provisions issued prior to 6 April 1941, continuity with the prewar Yugoslav law was abolished with retroactive effect. However, this measure was not accompanied by the formulation of new regulatory acts to replace the repealed law.

Even though the old provisions were repealed, their regulatory contents were often used, with the courts applying them, on a case by case basis, according to the power of conviction, of the logical force involved. It was specified

that the courts may apply the old provisions, on three conditions: a. That they were not superseded by provisions of the new law; b. That they do not contradict the provisions of the Constitution of the People's Federative Republic of Yugoslavia or of the component republics; c. That they are not contradictory to the constitutional principles.

Hence, a situation was created which, as it lasted for many years -- it has not yet been completely eliminated -- has impacted the entire evolution of the Yugoslav legal system.

In this context, it is easy to explain the essential role assigned to judicial practice. The court is the organ called upon to discern between what can be and what cannot be applied from the old laws. Actually it is the factor that lends mandatory power to the rules of behavior. The source of law is not, as we indicated, the repealed law, but the decision of the court which determines, in the name of the state, a specific principle. To this effect Yugoslav specialized literature makes a subtle distinction, specifying that applied are not the old laws but the legal provisions which they contain. Hence, it is not a matter of the formal law, mandatory by the force of the provisions which institute it, but of the legal regulations in themselves, which are applied by authority of their power of conviction. Their application is by no means mandatory for the court, which may retain the provision as it was formulated in the old laws, but may also amend, split or eliminate it. It was even accepted that the courts are not required to only apply the legal provisions that had been in effect on the territory of the republic where they operate, but may take their inspiration -- this is the most appropriate term -- from any laws that operate on the territory of all the federal republic. The sole condition set by law was for the court to give the grounds for their decision. [4]

Consequently, a genuine jurisprudential law came into being, one which for many years was the basic factor of the Yugoslav legal system. Proceeding from this fact, one may draw significant parallels with English law. However, it must be taken into consideration, even though judicial practice in Yugoslavia represents an undeniable source of law, that the differences versus the English system are essential. They result from the fact that Yugoslav law ignores the rule of precedent, without which common law is inconceivable. In this situation, the decision of the court of superior jurisdiction is no longer unconditionally mandatory for the court of inferior jurisdiction, just as the decision previously given by the same court no longer is mandatory to be followed exactly. The rule of precedent no longer operates, the decisions no longer automatically form jurisprudence, they assert themselves because of the logics they express and the soundness of the arguments on which they are based.

But judicial practice plays the role of a source of law only where the socialist state has not stepped in, adopting written provisions.

Prominent among these areas is that of family law. Prewar Yugoslavia had received a painful inheritance in this field. The population of this heterogenous

state was made up partly of Orthodox (Serbians), partly of Catholics (Croatians), and partly, finally, of Moslems (Montenegrines, and others). Evidently, there was a diversity of traditions in family organization which made the establishment of a unified system extremely difficult.

In the context of the socialist system, a family law free from any religious influence was adopted. But in order to spare the characteristic mental attitudes in the component republics, no steps were taken to adopt a federal law and the settlement of the matter was assigned to the authority of each republic. For the coordination of the provisions, a set of standard-laws were adopted, such as the Fundamental Law on Marriage of 1945, the Fundamental Law on Guardianship of 1947, the Law on Adoption of the same year, the Fundamental Law on Relationships Between Parents and Children of 1947, on whose basis the autochthonous republics formulated their own laws.

An event of outstanding importance for the structuring of the Yugoslav legal system involved the Law on Obligations of 1 October 1978.

"In spite of the creativity of the courts in this matter" -- a Yugoslav author wrote -- "there was the need for a law that would entail, among other things, a higher level of judicial safety in the obligations established between the various subjects and even those involving a foreign party." [5]

The idea of formulating laws on the matter of obligations appeared soon after the establishment of the socialist regime. In 1960, the task of formulating a predraft of law on obligations was assigned to Professor Mihailo Konstantinovic. In 1969 he issued the survey entitled "Draft of the Law on Obligations and Contracts," which, until 1978, was scrutinized and debated in various parliamentarian commissions and was subsequently adopted as a law.

In 1109 articles, the law regulates both civil relationships and commercial relationships, prescribing special provisions only for specific matters with a very distinctive character.

In the first part, the law specifies the basic principles of the matter and points out the sources of obligations: the contract, the civil liability (the civil violation), enrichment without a just cause, business management, the deed poll of will. The first part also carries provisions on the effects and extinction of the obligations and change in the subjects of the relationship of obligation.

The second part of the law contains provisions on some special contracts: selling, exchange, loan, renting, storage, commission, mortgage, security. Because of the inclusion of the matter of commercial law, there also are provisions on some commercial contracts, such as those for warehousing, commission, commercial representation, brokerage, passenger and freight transportation, assignment of patents, insurance in the area of tourism, transaction. Finally, provisions are specified for some banking transactions, for instance depositing valuable documents, deposits, current account, guarantee homes, credit, letters of credit and bank guarantees.

The innovating approaches provided by the law include patrimonial reparation for moral damages, in case the action produced physical or mental suffering, affected the appearance of a person or damaged his reputation, honor, freedom, prevented the exercise of a human right, or, finally, caused the death of a close person, without raising for discussion an obligation of maintenance. [6]

Furthermore, we point out the existence of an institution which is designated as "responsibility based on grounds of equity," which operates in two situations: when the author is irresponsible, he could be, however, required to pay compensations, if the person in charge of his supervision does not have the means, and the author has sufficient means -- it is the first hypothesis -- and when the author is a minor deprived of means, with the court having the authority to require his parents to pay, even if they do not have any guilt, assessing both the financial status of the parents and that of the victim -- the second hypothesis. It is the confirmation of the "equity jurisprudence" which also is contained in other legal systems.

The structure described above, the institutions which it promotes, and the original approaches which it suggests in some situations make the new Yugoslav law a unique, modern, and interesting codification.

Another regulatory act, of outstanding importance for socioeconomic life in Yugoslavia, involves the "Law on Associated Work," adopted on 25 November 1976, a very comprehensive law, which incorporates both the matter of organization, operation and administration of self-management units and the matter of work relationships which develop in these units. Without knowledge of this law, the Yugoslav political, economic and legal system cannot be actually understood.

The fundamental concept of the law is the principle of social ownership. Article 12 of the Constitution states: "The means of production and the other means of associated work, the products of associated work and the income achieved by associated work, the resources which serve to meet the collective and overall social needs, the national wealth and the assets for overall use are socially-owned property." [7]

Hence, a form of socialist ownership, socially-owned property includes both the relationships which are established -- in other socialist states -- in the exercise of state socialist ownership, and those which pertain to cooperative ownership. It is a form of property which Yugoslav specialized literature distinguishes from state socialist property, which previously also existed in that country, because of the fact that the holder of the socially-owned property is not the state. However, neither the 1963 Constitution nor the 1974 Constitution indicate who is the holder of this right, leaving the elucidation of socially-owned property to doctrine.

The issue has been agitating for many years sociopolitical thinking in the neighboring country, with the volume of theories and hypotheses increasing constantly. For instance, in the first stage it was stated that the right of

self-management organizations allegedly was a right derived from that of social ownership. But soon it was noted that this concept is patterned upon that of the structure of the right of socialist property and follows the chart of the relationship between this right and the right of direct administration, thus not grasping precisely the differences between the two legal categories: state socialist ownership and social ownership.

According to other views, the holder of the socially-owned property allegedly is not the state but all the Yugoslav society. This kind of approach in essence did not at all differ from the one mentioned above, because, while replacing the word "state" by the word "society," the terms of the matter remained identical. Moreover, like the other thesis, it does not explain the fact that the socially-owned property is not constituted in a unified asset, that it is opposable to the state and that the modalities of constitution and transfer are actions of civil law.

A more recent approach, which seems to have asserted itself, linked to the name of Professor J. Djordjevic, proceeds from the distinction between property, as an institution of civil law, and the category of socially-owned property, which is a concept of constitutional law. [8]

The means of civil law, in this light, appear as technical tools for implementing the constitutional principle. Hence, it is admitted that the self-management units become -- on a civil basis -- the holders of a right to use and administer the assets that make up the object of socially-oned property. In this kind of concept, however, this is not a derived right -- as in the case of the right to direct administration held by units in our country -- but a specific right, and, hence, opposable to the state that constituted it. It is evident that the theory of socially-owned property has not been formulated in detail and that an exact definition of this property has not yet been provided.

The self-management units -- designated by Yugoslav law as forms of association of work and of means -- involve several categories: the basic organization of associated work, the work organization, the collective organization of associated work, the association of organizations of associated work in other forms of work and means association, and, finally, the communities of work developing projects of common interest.

We cannot go into detailing the structure of these organizational forms. We will limit ourselves to pointing out that the establishment of the basic organizations of associated work proceeds on the initiative of working people, of the trade union, of the social attorney of self-management, of the assembly of the sociopolitical community and of other agencies authorized by the law.

The work organization, a unit which, in general, includes several basic organizations of associated work, represents the central factor of this fan-shaped structure of units. The law defines it as "a self-managing independent organization of workers, tied by common interests in work and structured in basic organizations within its framework or linked directly by a unified

work process." Most often, the work organization is established, on the basis of a social agreement, by an organization of associated work, a community of self-managing interests, a local community, a sociopolitical community or another legal social person -- designations which involve the legal subjects that are conducting their activity on the basis of socially-owned property.

The parties in the social agreement are required to assure the social means that are necessary for the operation of the new legal entity and, consequently, they are entitled to credits from the state.

The law distinguishes two categories of legal relationships that develop when a work organization is established: the self-managing convention, which regulates the relations between founders, and the foundation title which specifies the rights and duties of the founders in relation to the work organization. A new law branch has developed with respect to these relations and it has been designated as self-management law. [9]

It is interesting to survey the discussions being held in Yugoslav literature on the nature of this branch of law. An author wrote: Self-management law represents a form of the disappearance of law, the transfer of the regulatory function from the state to the self-managing subjects. It is the espression of the changed status of workers vis-a-vis the means of production, of the right which they have to decide both on the results of their work and on the totality of social reproduction. The self-management provisions are not heteronomous, subject to external impositions, as an expression and confirmation of a hierarchical superiority, but involve a form of voluntary engagement of the self-managing subjects in their own interest and in the social interest. [10]

The self-management of the units is exercised through their organs: the workers' council -- comprised of all working people in the unit, the executive body of the workers' council, elected by it from its ranks, and the "self-management council" -- which actually is comprised of a "individual self-managing organ" (the manager) and a "collective self-managing organ" (a kind of executive bureau).

The few items which we pointed out are far from providing the actual scope and the wealth of concepts that characterize the Yugoslav legal system. Moreover, the Yugoslav laws generally involve amplitude, comprehensively treating the issues codified. Our survey was only aimed at informing the reader about the Yugoslav jurists' efforts to formulate a unique legal system, which, proceeding from the basic realities of the socialist system, would express, as well as possible, specific social realities.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech Made at the Ceremony for Signing the Official Romanian-Yugoslav Documents," in SCINTEIA of 6 November 1979.

2. For all these data see B. Kosutic, "The Creation of the Socialist Legal System in Yugoslavia," in YUGOSLAV LAW, No 2/1979, p 43 and following pages.

3. See B. T. Blagojevic, "The New Laws on Internal Law Conflicts, Specifically in the Relations of Family Status and Inheritance," in YUGOSLAV Law, No 2/1979, p 3.

4. See B. Kosutic, op cit, pp 44-45.

5. S. Perovic, "General Principles and Provisions of the New Yugoslav Law on the Duties in Terms of Contracts," in REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE DROIT COMPARE, No 4/1979, p 749 and following pages.

6. See O. Stakovic, "Civil Liability Under the New Yugoslav Law on Obligations," in REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE DROIT COMPARE, No 4/1979, p 765 and following pages.

7. "Expose du President de l'Assemblee de la R.S.F.Y, Kiro Gligorov, Lors de l'Adoption de la Loi sur le Travail Associe, au Cours de la Session du Conseil Federal et de la Chambre des Republiques et Provinces, le 25 Novembre 1976" [Report by the Chairman of the Assembly of the F.S.R.Y., Kiro Gligorov, on the Adoption of the Law on Associated Work, During the Session of the Federal Council and of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, 25 November 1976], Belgrade 1978, p 11 and following pages.

8. See J. Djordjevic, "Socialist Revolution and Foundation of a Self-Managing Sociopolitical System," in 'University of Beograd, International University Center for Social Sciences, Socialism in Yugoslav Theory and Practice," Belgrade, 1976, p 3.

9. See E. Pusic, "Self-Management in Yugoslavia -- Some Current Scientific Problems," in YUGOSLAV LAW, No 3/1978, p 3; N. Milosevic, "Rights and Duties of the Assembly of the Sociopolitical Community in Effecting Protection of the Self-Management Rights of Working and of Social Ownership," in YUGOSLAV LAW, No 3/1978, p 61.

10. See Kosutic, op cit, p 52.

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CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

LAOTIANS IN CSSR--On 27 February 1981, representatives of 400 Laotian students and apprentices temporarily living in Czechoslovakia attended a meeting convened by the Czechoslovak-Laotian Friendship Committee. The meeting which was held under the auspices of the Czechoslovak International Relations Society, was also attended by the CSSR Minister of Labor and Social Affairs M. Stancel and the Secretary of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee J. Brunner. [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 27 Feb 81 p 2]

CSO: 2400

KOLAKOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON CURRENT SITUATION

DW111114 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 12 Dec 80 p 11

[Interview with Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski by reporter Michael Naumann, date and place not given]

[Text] [DIE ZEIT] How would the Polish people react to an invasion by the Red Army?

[Kolakowski] The entire society would undoubtedly react with extreme hostility. The question is whether the Polish Army would fight against the Russian troops. I do not know. The army is, at any rate, a part of Polish society and not a foreign body. But that does not say anything with regard to effective resistance against the Red Army.

[DIE ZEIT] Would you be surprised if GDR troops took part in a possible invasion?

[Kolakowski] I can hardly imagine that the Russians would be stupid enough to let the East German "People's Army" invade Poland. That would be a flat repeat of 1939. The Polish resistance spirit would be fanned even more, so that it seems unlikely to me that the Kremlin could decide to do that. Naturally, I do not know exactly what is going on in the heads of the Russian rulers.

[DIE ZEIT] Many observers assume that repressions against the Polish trade union movement could not be carried out by Warsaw Pact troops, but rather by the "tested" forces of the Polish secret police. What role does it play at present in Poland?

[Kolakowski] The secret police apparatus has neither fallen apart, nor has it been reduced to immobility. But it is most unlikely that it has enough forces to quell a movement of millions of citizens.

[DIE ZEIT] Would an invasion of Poland be the first step toward World War III?

[Kolakowski] A military response by Western forces to a Russian invasion is not to be expected. As far as that goes, an invasion of Poland would not be a step toward World War III. But it is also clear that the European security system would be ruined. Tension could escalate so much that the general danger of a war would become conceivable. However, things may not turn out that way at all.

[DIE ZEIT] What is most dangerous for Moscow with regard to the Polish mixture of revolutionary hopes and pragmatic reform programs?

[Kolakowski] Moscow is most worried by the loss of Party control over Polish social life. It is incontestable that the coming about of independent trade unions represents a very grave crisis in the whole power system of communism. The Polish example could infect others.

[DIE ZEIT] Is not Polish nationalism an exemplary model for the people of the Soviet Union?

[Kolakowski] Nationalism (in the East European, formally independent states, as well as in the Soviet Union) has been for years and is the most powerful disintegrative factor for the Soviet empire.

[DIE ZEIT] Will the social and economic paralysis of Poland disappear, as it were, in view of the threat from the Soviet Union? Isn't the Red Army extorting a contradictory community of action from the free trade union and the Communist party?

[Kolakowski] This is what is called squaring the circle: there is a government which would probably be capable of repairing the national economy; but for that purpose it would have to enjoy a minimum of social loyalty. On the other hand, no government in Warsaw can survive without Moscow's confidence. Thus, what is needed in Warsaw is a government which would enjoy the confidence of both Moscow and the Polish society. This is impossible, of course. Viewed from this angle the situation seems to be hopeless; still, I do not believe that it is completely hopeless. Rather I believe that the Party leadership is allied with the people by the minimum of unity--namely, the fear of a Soviet invasion. For the sake of enhancing other common platforms the Party leadership would have to state its readiness to tell the truth about the causes of this disastrous economic situation in the country.

[DIE ZEIT] But to this day it has not been able to bring itself to do that.

[Kolakowski] It seems to be incapable of doing so. Nor must we be surprised at seeing that the people who were deceived, cheated, exploited, robbed and trampled on for decades no longer have any use for the general protestations of good will and appeals to their diligence. Obviously a minimum of mutual trust is required, and it goes without saying that the party bears the responsibility for it. A climate of truth is feasible. On the other hand, however, the lie is the air Communism breaths in, as it were: it would die without it.

[DIE ZEIT] Obviously the stormy will for freedom on the part of the Poles had not been properly considered in the Western detente calculations.

[Kolakowski] Definitely, but beyond that I do not believe that the Polish events, this otherwise absolutely peaceful revolution, may be viewed like a logical result of world detente policy. After all, we know the most important causes of the

developments well enough. What needs to be cited in particular in this context is Poland's economic catastrophe which is hardly a "success of detente policy."

[DIE ZEIT] What can the West do and what should it do?

[Kolakowski] To begin with, what matters is to make the Russians realize clearly and plainly that the price for an invasion of Poland would be very steep: that the political and economic costs of such an intrusion would include the ruin of the entire security system in Europe. What matters secondly is to help Poland economically--albeit under one condition: it will be necessary to control what happens with this assistance.

CSO: 2300

MICHNIK'S TALK ON GEOPOLITICAL REALITY NOTED

LD211015 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 15 Nov 80 p 4

[Report by Frits Schaling: "Perhaps a Good Thing That Poland Has No Dubcek"]

[Text] Warsaw, 15 November--In surroundings which could only remind Western Europe of the teach-ins at the end of the sixties, 34-year-old Polish historian Adam Michnik delivered an address yesterday evening on "August 1980 in the context of modern Polish history."

After Polish dissident leader Jacek Kuron, Michnik is the most prominent representative of KOR, the Workers' Defense Committee. It was set up in 1976 to speak for the workers who had rebelled in that year in Warsaw and Radom because of food shortages.

Michnik's 1.5-hour address took place in a Warsaw University auditorium. Last Friday [7 November] a lecture organized by the "Flying University"--the system of giving uncensored seminars in private apartments--was permitted to be held there for the first time.

Michnik's appearance yesterday was a real "happening"--an audience of between 2,000 and 2,500 interested persons jostled for a place in the auditorium, standing, sitting on the floor, and round the rostrum. And in the corridors outside the auditorium hundreds of other people stood listening over the loudspeakers.

"Perhaps it is a good thing that we have no liberal leaders in the Party in Poland like Dubcek, because they do not know how to deal with other Communist parties," was one of Michnik's points.

He affirmed that Polish society cannot do without the Communist party because of the country's geopolitical situation. "All that has happened in recent Polish history has its roots in the agreements made in Yalta in 1944. Poland was then forced to accept the Soviet system. Everything that has happened since then really boils down to nothing more than conflict over the role the CPSU should play in Poland."

Michnik saw 1956 as the great watershed, when the Soviet Union had to accept two things in Poland that did not agree with its own system--Poland acquiesced to the existence of an independent Church and put an end to the enforced collectivization of agriculture.

The 14-year Gomulka regime--which began in 1956--was given a fairly positive evaluation by Michnik--Gomulka had been in prison during the Stalinist era and was a champion of as much independence for Poland as possible. It was also the first time a Communist leader had enjoyed a large amount of support in society. "It just took him a long time to lose it again," Michnik remarked to great hilarity.

To the question why the Soviet Union has not intervened in Poland this year there is, according to Michnik, no simple answer. According to Michnik the Soviet Union realized that the Polish Army and population would oppose a military intervention.

Thus, Moscow reasoned that it would be wiser to try to reach a compromise with the Polish Party. According to Michnik, a "fierce and dramatic discussion" took place in the Soviet Union about this.

Michnik stressed, however, that it must be brought home to the Soviet Union that the present situation in Poland will not change. "Thus, on the one hand, we cannot be too radical, but, on the other hand, we must not go back on what has already been achieved. We must be aware of the limits, for the organization which we have to deal with--the Party--is not truly independent and does not speak with its own voice.

"Thus, it is impossible to predict whether the Russians will come or not, but what we can say is that Polish society needs the Communist Party because of the geopolitical situation. The Communists will have to learn how to govern this society, Polish society must learn how to handle the Communists."

In the conversation that I had with Michnik earlier this week, it was striking that he said, on the one hand, that he is confident that the Government will adhere to the Gdansk Accord and allow Solidarity to remain truly independent, while, on the other hand, he pointed out that the Polish Government is using all possible means to exert influence within Solidarity--by frightening people, by intimidation, and by infiltrating the Solidarity organization itself. As far as this is concerned, Michnik then said that he is not optimistic for the future. However, in his address yesterday Michnik for obvious tactical reasons showed nothing of such doubts.

CSO: 3105

KREISKY WARNS AGAINST 'FALSE FRIENDS' OF POLAND

AU171625 Vienna ARBEITER-ZEITUNG in German 14 Feb 81 p 3

[Exclusive Interview with Chancellor Kreisky by Georg Hoffmann-Ostenhof and Peter Pelinka in Vienna "before his departure for Egypt"]

[Excerpt] [ARBEITER-ZEITUNG] Especially within the SPD, forces are constantly growing stronger which criticize the intensified armament efforts and which want to reopen the discussion of the deployment of new NATO weapons in view of the relative deadlock in the disarmament talks.

[Kreisky] If there should be a military invasion in Poland tomorrow, all those who today criticize the intensified armament efforts will be silent, or will be politically irrelevant. That is why I believe that there are also false friends of Poland, who actually would welcome a Russian intervention in Poland. For in that event, one can step up armament, and adopt any decision; a military operation of the Soviet Union would be regarded as such a threat that all this would be passed by the parliaments with a strong majority. This is something the Soviet Union must realize. This time it would not merely be a short-lived period of ill feeling such as that which, strangely enough, followed the Czechoslovak events in 1968.

On the other hand, it should be possible to enter into a reasonable, creative dialogue with the Americans. There would have to be an educational process, as is the prerequisite for any dialogue; namely, that the Americans understand, for example, that certain things in Latin America cannot be done, or that Europeans cannot simply go along with certain armament efforts. But all this in turn depends on whether one can evoke understanding for the necessities of the policy of detente from people who, actually from the very beginning, have no intention of displaying such understanding.

CSO: 2300

POLISH PEN CLUB SECRETARY INTERVIEWED

DW091303 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 9 Feb 81 pp 118-123

[Interview with Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, author and secretary of the Polish Pen Club, by editors Inge Cyrus and Klaus Reinhardt, in the Vienna office of the Spiegel]

[Text] [SPIEGEL] Professor Bartoszewski, for the fourth time last week the government and the "Solidarity" trade union agreed on a compromise at the very last minute following a conflict that had worsened dramatically. Can such tests of strength be repeated over and over again?

[Bartoszewski] This question must be answered with a question in return: Who is guilty of aggravating the situation? Both sides certainly are not free of guilt. But which side is more guilty?

[SPIEGEL] What do you say?

[Bartoszewski] The Government side. It does not speak seriously and honestly with the people. It is evasive. The people and not merely the trade union are right in fearing that those of good will in the Party and Government do not play a sufficiently large role, and that the discussion partners are not always the right discussion partners.

[SPIEGEL] But the Party has given in all the time on many matters, it moved backwards step by step.

[Bartoszewski] Do you really believe that? I find that of the 21-points of the Gdansk agreement only four have been implemented: The point involving Holy Mass carried by the radio, permission to build and solemnly dedicate the Gdansk monument, the concession that the trade union may outline its standpoint in the mass media, and the agreement on the temporary 42-hours work week.

[SPIEGEL] So 17 unfulfilled points remain.

[Bartoszewski] Yes, and among them is perhaps the most important one: the problem of reducing--reducing, not eliminating!--censorship. I will give you an example. The Polish Academy of Sciences advised the government to negotiate seriously with the trade union, to assess the situation soberly and objectively. It advised the other side to remain calm, to make moderate demands and not to escalate its wishes.

The mass media have reported only on admonitions toward the trade union but not on criticism against the Government. That demonstrates how important the containment of censorship is for an improvement of the social climate.

[SPIEGEL] Nobody contests that this demand is legitimate. But why the continuous threat with the biggest stick, the general strike?

[Bartoszewski] The greatest difficulty is the lack of mutual confidence. The Polish trade union considered the Gdansk agreement in its entity as the minimum of its demands, expecting that at least this minimum would be fulfilled. If the Government only wants to fulfill a few points of that package, the working people have no other choice but to strike.

[SPIEGEL] So in fact, what is involved is...

[Bartoszewski] ...confidence.

[SPIEGEL] So in fact, it is the principle that is important.

[Bartoszewski] Primarily a better social climate is what is involved. I repeat: more confidence. The ruled need to have more reason for confidence in the rulers.

[SPIEGEL] Don't you think that the Polish people will slowly tire of the continual quarrels and strikes and that they will show no understanding for the fact that no work is being done and that the supply system is deteriorating?

[Bartoszewski] Yes, such voices are heard. Due to the not very wise action of the government side, the people noticed very quickly that the strike weapon was after all the most effective weapon. Moreover, the Poles know very well that supply shortcomings are not a consequence of the strikes. Our Government has senselessly squandered billions of dollars for 10 years. Now it pretends that the strikes between August and January caused the shortcomings. That only makes the people mad.

[SPIEGEL] So mad that they demand the dismissal of Party secretaries in individual voivodships.

[Bartoszewski] There are Party secretaries whom the public considers criminals.

[SPIEGEL] Possibly. But the trade union radicals demand something which the Party cannot fulfill at all: The demand that the Party place completely new cadres in the responsible positions. Where should they come from?

[Bartoszewski] I want to tell you that I have a much better opinion of the Communist Party in Poland. I am convinced that among these 3 million people there are many young, decent and intelligent people, even good experts who would be able to rule the country better and in a more democratic way.

The State can also make use of the good noncommunists. Even people without party cards should have access to responsible government positions. That would be a way out.

[SPIEGEL] The next conflict has already begun; it will again escalate to threats of strikes by the trade union and to the threat of imprisonment and compulsory service on the part of the Government: the admission of the Farmers' Trade Union. Do you consider such a trade union justified?

[Bartoszewski] At least the Government makes it too simple for itself by saying that the farmers are independent producers everywhere in the world, that means that they are not employed and not justified to form a trade union. In our country, in Poland, the farmers are not independent producers.

If they are not prepared to give their products to the State at an exactly fixed price, they cannot buy agricultural machines, seed, and various other articles. Their demand for self-government--economic self-administration from below--is very well justified.

[SPIEGEL] Must it be a trade union?

[Bartoszewski] Maybe the Supreme Court will find a solution by formulating suggestions to correct the statute. A self-government of the farmers could be feasible under various names, including the name "solidarnosc."

[SPIEGEL] It has been noted in past weeks that the trade union leadership under Walesa was hardly able to bring influence to bear on developments in the province. Can Walesa and the "National Consultative Commission" really speak on behalf of all Solidarity members, more than 10 million of them, speak and act on their behalf?

[Bartoszewski] Who said it and where is it written that Mr Walesa must decide absolutely on everything that happens in a city 500 kilometers away? In the province one frequently has other problems than in Warsaw or Gdansk. It is impossible to make all workers agree, or all employees, scientists or students.

[SPIEGEL] In doing this, the trade union exposes itself on a continous basis to the reproach of anarchy.

[Bartoszewski] What does anarchy mean? Regional demands, also contradictory demands, are absolutely normal in all trade unions of the world.

[SPIEGEL] In pluralist societies. But Poland is not yet a pluralist society. Only two sides are negotiating in Poland at present--the Government and Walesa.

[Bartoszewski] I insist that there is no anarchy in Poland. On the contrary, there is an amazing degree of discipline--amazing because we were not permitted to gain democratic experience in past decades.

Poland has 49 voivodships. It is only natural that here or there an occasional separate demand is voiced. After all, the people are not angels. Only a strictly-organized opposition party could stop such separate demands. The trade union "Solidarnosc," however, shall not and will not be an opposition party.

[SPIEGEL] Does it have sufficient power to implement its will?

[Bartoszewski] What executive power does it have? None. Absolutely none. Walesa depends on voluntary recognition. Under such circumstances it seems astonishing and admirable to me that he finds so much obedience and confidence.

[SPIEGEL] Where is the limit do you think of the democratization which Poland is not permitted to overstep so as not to bring about the so-called fraternal help of the socialist neighbor states?

[Bartoszewski] First, Poland may not threaten the significant military, foreign policy, and economic interests of the great socialist family of the people.

[SPIEGEL] So it may not leave the Warsaw pact or CEMA.

[Bartoszewski] Correct. Second, the Communist Party must remain able to function. We need in Poland an efficient and responsible Communist Party which is able to act. Total disolution of this party would be a misfortune. I say that as a non-communist, as a so-called oppositionist.

[SPIEGEL] A Communist Party with a guaranteed leadership role?

[Bartoszewski] I recognize the primacy of the Party in implementing socialism, as envisaged by the constitution. That does not mean, however, that every Party member must play a leading role in every profession and every plant.

[SPIEGEL] Professor, the Catholic Church, tacitly recognized prior to the Gdansk strike in August by the Party as the second power in Poland and one which supports the state, has maintained remarkable restraint in past months. On which side does the Church stand actually? Does it strengthen "Solidarity," or does it support the groggy party out of reasons of state?

[Bartoszewski] The Church clearly stands on the side of society, that is, on the side of the populace. But as an institution, the Church is more aware than an average member of the populace of the dangers which could come up and of the current limits of possible action at this moment.

[SPIEGEL] All rival social forces in Poland obviously have authority problems now, of all times, which might be solved but only through a change in leadership. Let us stay with the Church: is Cardinal Primate Wyszynski, who has reached the age of 80, still the right man to lead the Polish Episcopate in these difficult times?

[Bartoszewski] There is not the least doubt in my mind that Cardinal Wyszynski is an extraordinary and outstanding personality in Polish ecclesiastical life and in the life of the Polish nation at large. By the same token, the age of the cardinal no doubt will confront the Church with the problem of succession in the foreseeable future.

[SPIEGEL] And whom do you expect as successor?

[Bartoszewski] Canonical rules exist on how to elect the chairman of the Episcopate Conference in case of emergency. Nothing more. But I do have to admit that most people in Poland known to me, and not just those in Catholic circles, are wondering with concern whether the Polish Church will have as great a personality as Cardinal Wyszynski in the future. We did have such a personality, but we lost him.

[SPIEGEL] Not lost, probably. Poland lent him out--or gave him to the world.

[Bartoszewski] You put that very nicely, almost like a Catholic publicist.

[SPIEGEL] Do you think that the Polish bishops who, after all, number 77 and have differing views, will be able to agree on a name?

[Bartoszewski] In such cases I believe in the activity of the Holy Ghost, and I also keep the personality of the Holy Father in mind.

[SPIEGEL] It is not just the Church that has leadership problems. Elections are currently being held in the basic organizations of the trade union "Solidarity," and areas of responsibility are supposed to be clearly defined in that process. Will this strengthen the team of Walesa or will it weaken it?

[Bartoszewski] You will be surprised: I believe in democratic elections, that is to say, I just do not know whether Walesa personally or his closer followers will continue to play the great role in the future.

[SPIEGEL] But the question of the future structure is also important: Will "Solidarity" be given a central leadership?

[Bartoszewski] I simply do not know. From my knowledge of Polish society I would think that a certain tendency towards, say, self-government will develop, that is, a big say from below. On the whole, I consider this to be healthy, on the other hand, a uniform leadership is also very important in specific cases.

[SPIEGEL] The most important decisions on Poland's destiny, above all, with respect to its future as a sovereign state, have to be expected from the Communist Party congress in April. Do you think Kania will be able to hold on to his post as Party boss?

[Bartoszewski] I do not have any personal relationship whatsoever with Mr Kania, nor do I know whether he is the best possible Party secretary. But I must add, that voices can be heard in the Polish public which say that somebody worse than he could move up in the near future.

[SPIEGEL] Paradoxical as it may sound, it is particularly the reform forces in Poland which are bound to be interested in seeing that forces prevail in the Party which are not too liberal, because the Soviet leadership would never put up with reformers at the top such as in the CSSR in 1968.

[Bartoszewski] I must tell you that I do not know of any important, influential liberal forces within the Party's Central Committee. If they do exist, then they are so well camouflaged that nothing is known about them. I see forces advocating a middle, perhaps pragmatic, course and forces coming out for an intensification. I believe that a middle course is more prudent at this time.

[SPIEGEL] Well, the speech given by Politburo member Olszowski last week gives cause for concern. He made it very clear that the Party has no intention of renouncing what he referred to as the Centralist-Leninist tradition and that it will resist any Party reform. It almost sounded as though somebody had offered himself to the Soviets as a Husak, Polish variety.

[Bartoszewski] Have you heard any important Polish Communist come out against Marxism-Leninism in the past few years?

[SPIEGEL] People like Gdansk Party Secretary Fiszbach who, after all, is a candidate member of the Politburo, or Central Committee member Rakowski after the Gdansk Agreement did put the concept of the leading role of the party up for discussion, and this indicated the possibility of a change in thinking. But what Olszowski now says throws Poland back to the times before 1956.

[Bartoszewski] You do not always act the way you talk in politics, and often you talk that particular way for various reasons, but speak entirely differently in specific cases.

[SPIEGEL] Which brings us back to the crucial question. For reasons that are well known, the Polish reform forces must accept the leading role of the Party, but do not have the least influence on the selection of personnel. A new leadership from outside the Communist Party would have the consequence that the tanks would roll in Warsaw.

[Bartoszewski] You think the Russinas are so nervous?

[SPIEGEL] The Russians are nervous, but they keep standing by as long as they believe that the Party has the situation under control or that, at least, appearances are kept up.

[Bartoszewski] But is it absolutely necessary that bad Party people control the situation? Could it not be better ones?

[SPIEGEL] The question is who is bad and who is not...

[Bartoszewski] ...is what they decide there!

[SPIEGEL] We are afraid that this, unfortunately, is the reality.

[Bartoszewski] Reality is that must be certain people. After all, not all Party people are identical. Bierut, Gomulka, or Gierek were not identical either, nor are Jaruzelski, Kania, Moczar or Olszowski. What matters is whether they are able or not.

[SPIEGEL] Novotny, Bilak or Dubcek in 1968 were not identical either, even though they belonged to the same party. The policy which Dubcek promised was intolerable to Moscow. If we proceed from the premise that the attitude of the Moscow leadership has not changed in principle in 1981, then Poland must include this attitude in its reckoning.

[Bartoszewski] I have a far better opinion about the wisdom of the Russians than you have.

[SPIEGEL] What strikes us time and again in talks with Poles is that they believe that the leeway for social changes is far from being fully exploited. Do you deem it absolutely out of the question that people in Poland are harboring illusions about what is possible and what is not?

[Bartoszewski] I consider this to be entirely out of the question. It is my view that the people do indeed comprehend the realities. But the Poles are also most profoundly convinced that there can be no return to the conditions prior to August 1980. There is no great prospect for this, I am sure.

However, the changes articulated in the Gdansk Agreement and which the State has recognized are considered by the vast majority of the Polish people as an adequate satisfaction and as a guarantee for options toward concrete developments.

[SPIEGEL] This means that if the 21 points of Gdansk are fulfilled, there will be calm in the country?

[Bartoszewski] I am convinced of that. If some individual people in the Party had not procrastinated various things so much this crisis development would not have occurred. We would have been spared a great deal.

[SPIEGEL] Professor, thank you for this interview.

CSO: 2300

RESERVE OFFICER CADET SCHOOLS DISCUSSED

New Training System

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 11, Nov 80 pp 52-55

[Article by Lt Marek Tomczak: "First Year, Reserve Officer Cadet Schools"]

[Text] In July of this year large numbers of college graduates entered the ranks of military units, thus beginning a new stage in their military education. The new system of training military reserves became a popular subject of conversation and questioning in colleges among senior students, current graduates and some of the teaching staff. Similar discussions took place in military circles. In my work[1] on new organizational forms of military training for college graduates, I found that among the valid and objective comments there were those that were totally confused, with obstinacy competing with ignorance.

I was present when graduates of several colleges were admitted to one of the reserve officer cadet schools. In talking with the newly inducted cadets, replying to their questions and doubts, I had to say that unfortunately these questions and doubts stemmed from their ignorance of the basic principles of the new training system. This does not speak well for the military studies departments of many colleges, which did not see to it that at least the last-year students were informed on the decisions of the amended parliamentary law, dated June 28, 1979, "PPR, Universal Defense Obligation."[2]

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[1] The author is a researcher in the Military Political Academy's [WAP] Social Research Institute [IBS] conducting a study on the effectiveness of the new reserve training system.

[2] In one instance known to me of effective informative action taken by military authorities in a college, an informational booklet was prepared by officers in the Military Department of the Silesian Polytechnic in Gliwice. It discussed in detail both organizational forms of reserve training, i.e. SOR [Szkoly Oficerow Rezerwy (Reserve Officers' Schools, ROS)] and SPR [Szkoly Podchorazych Rezerwy (Reserve Officer Cadet Schools, ROCS)]. All graduates liable for the year's training received the informational booklet.

I was present when this year's graduate of one of the more renowned Polish universities during a conversation with the commission admitting him stated with disarming honesty that although he had recently heard the abbreviation ROCS he could not say what it represented, much less say something sensible about the fundamentals of ROCS training, duration of the studies, what kind of practical training he would receive in accordance with the military specialty to which he had been assigned. This article should respond to some of the doubts that arise in connection with the reforms in military training of college students and graduates and highlight some of the plans for the new system. It is an attempt at a theoretical introduction to presentation of results of sociological research now being conducted on the effectiveness of reserve cadet training.

Changes in the politico-military situation in Europe and the world, changes in military engineering and methods of conducting battles, the necessity for constant improvement in the structure of our armed forces, the ever-increasing needs for military cadres, particularly in the noncommissioned officer cadres, and also the unfavorable demographic situation in Poland, have meant that it is now necessary to reach further than heretofore into the potential reserve cadre comprised of the only partially trained militarily multi-thousand group of people graduating from colleges each year. There were several reasons in favor of obtaining a large and well-prepared reserve by way of giving military training for a period of several months to college graduates:

First--seven year's experience of ROS operation showed unequivocally the high social and political maturity of most Polish students.

Second--college graduates were an important source of liberal arts and engineering-organizational knowledge, which in today's ever-greater need (not only by the military) for highly qualified cadres, was very advantageous. The newly graduated M.A.'s and engineers, skilled in independently acquiring knowledge, also quickly mastered the basic principles of tactics, command, as well as the skills in employing new equipment and armament. Of course, to achieve successes in service after only several months' training, it was necessary to provide intensive practical work in a military unit in an independent command post, in direct contact with subordinates, with full accountability for people, equipment, assigned tasks, and maintenance of disciple in subunits. [3]

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[3] Studies conducted by IBS WAP researchers, Drs Hieronim Teodorczyk and Wladyslaw Iwaniec during 1973-1979 completely confirmed this statement. The cadets themselves called attention to the need for greater linkage of the ROS programs with practical training, and for filling vacant command positions in subunits with new personnel. Unfortunately, cadets were very frequently used for such assignments as service duties, supervising soldiers in afternoon hours, conducting cultural-educational activities, and sports. There was an unwillingness to entrust the reserve cadets with subunit equipment, and they were treated more like understudies than like commanders.

Third--the ROS officer cadets did a good job in the units as educators of soldiers in the regular service and were highly praised for their knowledge, tact and culture, free and direct lifestyle. With the necessary assistance and care shown the officer cadets by the unit commanders and the older experienced officers and noncommissioned officers, such extremes could be avoided as excessive and unnecessary severity on the one hand, and too much indulgence towards subordinates, allowing the level of discipline and requirements to drop, on the other hand.

Fourth--important economic reasons favored the introduction of one year's military service for all college graduates. Filling vacant positions with reserve officer cadets was found to be on balance much less expensive than entrusting these positions to professional soldiers. Furthermore, knowledge obtained in military service, practical skills in leading people and making rapid and accurate decisions are advantages which are very important to people who by virtue of their education will be filling leadership positions in industry or administration.

But the widespread belief that calling up college graduates for a year's service in the army will greatly weaken our economy is simply untrue, since we are speaking of people who have not yet begun to work, or have worked for a very short time.

Fifth--making military service a compulsory obligation for all persons finishing their studies has a very important moral aspect. It eliminates the inherent favoritism to those students and graduates who for various reasons were not liable for this service. This privileged status gave some ROS officer cadets reason to feel that they had been unjustly treated. This produced the belief "that only students who have no pull go into the army, while the dodgers and the children with highly placed parents could get out of going into the ROS. They also are able to get a good start in life, obtain seniority in their employment, get a more lucrative position, obtain housing." It was extremely critical that a system be established which would, on the one hand, encompass all those finishing their studies (including those abroad) and that would, on the other hand, contain effective incentives stimulating officer cadets to succeed in service. Such an incentive should be the ability to obtain the rank of officer as important recognition for service achievements, for military presence, for important specialist and general knowledge obtained and utilized in practical training.

All these requirements are being fulfilled since July of this year by the new system for military and defense training of students and for giving military training to college graduates. The legal bases are the law on "PPR, Universal Defense Obligation," amended by the PPR sejm on June 28, 1979; Council of Ministers Resolution No 240 dated September 8, 1972 on "Training Persons Liable for Student Military Training in Military Units and Student Defense Training," and Council of Ministers Decree dated September 7, 1979 on "Granting Regular Military Service Deferments and Declaring Conscripts and Soldiers as Sole Support of Family."

The Minister of National Defense's [MON] decree No 22 MON dated June 10, 1980 (MON Daily Orders No 35) precisely defines the following: the method and organizational forms of military training; duration and division of service period; call-up procedures; eligibility principles for specific types of reserve schools; types of weapons and military specialties; list of colleges whose graduates will take certain forms of training; bases for transfer to reserves after completion of training and transfer to reserves without such training; and rights of officer cadets and their families and military obligations of administrative organs.

In accordance with this decree (approved by the Ministers of Science, Higher Education and Technology, Health and Social Welfare, Culture and Art, Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy, and the chairman of the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism) the graduates of higher educational institutions (including Polish graduates of foreign colleges) who have not yet reached age 28 and have been declared by a medical commission to be fit for military service, will be referred by a commission acting under the direction of a military department director, to one of two types of reserve schools for a period of one year's training: a reserve officers' school operating on the same principles as heretofore, or a reserve officer cadet school training lower engineering and command cadres on a three-months' instruction and nine-months' practical training in a unit sytem. Medical academy students are not subject to one-year's training but after 330 hours of training in a military department they will attend a two-month military camp and after passing an officer examination will be transferred to the reserves in the rank of second lieutenant.

Also exempt from one-year's service are graduates of maritime schools who are trained militarily through many years of study and transferred to the reserves after passing examinations in military departments. An important difference between the new training system and that in effect thus far is the rule that those graduates will now be covered who previously had been exempt for health reasons or who did not participate in military activities in the colleges, i.e. were in health category B, but within 18 months of graduating were found by a military health commission to be fit to take the training.

In talking with the newly inducted ROCS officer cadets I was asked what the rules were for assignment to a specific military specialty or the elibility of graduates for a specific type of reserve school. In the opinion of some officer cadets (particularly those whose ambitions were foiled because they were sent to ROCS there seemed to be no logical basis for the assignments--the results of the classification commission appear to be completely random.

Without excluding, of course, isolated instances of incorrect classification (which can happen when such large numbers of people are being examined) it must be said here that the Minister of National Defense's decreee in this matter is very clear. Assignment to a specific type of reserve school, i.e. ROCS OR ROS, and assignment to a particular military specialty, is governed by such factors as: Military cadre mobilization requirements; compatible of college degree major with corresponding military specialty; result of exam from military training; student's sociopolitical activity rated over the entire study period; attitude and personality impressions. Furthermore, the composition of the assignment commission, which includes in addition to officers of the military department and administrative staff, representatives of the academic senate and the college's political authorities, guarantees complete impartiality. We should add that the commission must also consider all requests and petitions from students (including requests for changes in training dates, assignment to a specific specialty, additional medical examinations, sole support of family declarations, etc.) and settle them positively if they do not conflict with the needs of the armed forces.

A unique feature of the reserve officer cadet schools, which most of the college graduates will attend, is a consolidated training program designed to train cadres in positions of cadets, professional noncommissioned officers, and noncommissioned officers in the regular service, now vacant in units, on staffs, and in military institutions. ROCS cadets, after a three-months' course, will fill, according to grades obtained on examinations, positions of squad and crew leaders, equipment leaders, platoon and company assistant commanders, assistant service chiefs in units, subunit technicians, and instructors in subunits and on staffs. SOR cadets, however, will be sent to positions of platoon commanders of all types of services, just as heretofore. They will assume officer positions as instructors in the party-political apparatus, in the military prosecutor's office, in the Army Security Service, as military interpreters, and military journalists. University staff assistants and those with doctoral degrees called up for a years' military service under the new system of reserve training will be sent for six-months' practical training mainly to advanced officers' schools, training centers, and scientific research institutes, centers and academies. Because of this, the one-year's military training will not be lost time for the cadet insofar as individual scientific development is concerned.

In July of this year in the Political Officers' Training Center in Lodz training has begun (on a limited scale, for now) for graduates of fine arts colleges. In addition to learning the mysteries of a new, to them, military science, they will improve their skills in such fields as music education, graphic arts, interior decorating, theater arts, art history and culture. After three months in the Lodz ROCS they will fill instructor positions in some military unit clubs, specialist shops in district clubs, military art groups. A year in the army for graduates of these colleges is very important for it is linked to a greater popularization among cadres and soldiers of the fundamentals of socialist culture, in accordance with the guidelines contained in "Cultural Development Program in the PPR Armed Forces." The development and stimulation of an amateur artistic movement, intensification of cultural-educational work, making cadres and soldiers more sensitive to esthetics and beauty, is a very large task assigned to artists in cadet uniforms in the ROCS. On the other hand, a year's service in the army by graduates of art colleges will further increase their knowledge of defense in creative environments, in the propagation of the army's good name in society by means of artistic expression.

Although the new training system does not generally aim at changing the operating style of college military departments, nevertheless some very clear steps taken by the Ministry of National Defense are evident: Making the military training of student youth more modern and more flexible, adapting programs to requirements of further military service for the graduates, and increasing the number of hours devoted to practical work. Although the total number of hours schedule for student military training has not been changed, the training emphasis is changing. Greater emphasis is being placed in military training on preparing students to fulfill the duties of squad and platoon commanders and specialists in servicing equipment. This refers mainly to students in engineering disciplines, although a certain minimum knowledge in this field has been defined for the liberal arts graduates. The number of hours for teaching civil defense problems and sanitary defense has been increased. The scope of the subject in "Bases of Domestic Defense Policies," has been also changed by placing emphasis on broader discussion of the country's defense needs and requirements. The law passed by the sejm last June 28 and all aspects of universal defense obligations will also be examined.

Two important elements deserve special emphasis. One is the constant encouragement of students and then reserve officer cadets to get the best possible grades in school and service. We must call attention to the fact that there are spaces in the reserve officers' school for only the best students, and that warrant and noncommissioned officer vacancies in units are only available for the best ROCS cadets. Along with these are the higher service benefits, the possibility of more rapidly achieving higher specialists classes, etc. Only those officer cadets who have distinguished themselves will, at the time they are transferred to the reserves, receive a special recommendation that can be very important later in employment in shortening the waiting time for housing, receiving a higher position after completing the initial work period. Finally, although the ROCS officer cadets can during their year in service receive a promotion only to a noncommissioned officer[4] level defined by the decree of the Minister for National Defense, the best of them have an opportunity to compete for the rank of officer. Officer cadets receiving training in officer and warrant vacancies can, upon obtaining a good report from their superiors, be promoted on the recommendation of these superiors, to the rank of reserve second lieutenant. This is an important incentive for getting the best possible ratings in service.

The second extremely important achievement in the new system is the emphasis on practical training. The extension of officer cadet training time to nine months is one evidence of them. Practical training is regarded as an inherent part of the training process, accomplished under somewhat different circumstances than in school. Another important fact is that the first three months in a unit are a period of a certain kind of internship, during which the cadet should become familiar with the unit, the duties of the position, the tasks accomplished, the equipment, the unit's cadre, state of discipline and educational level of the subunit. These three months are also given over to removing any deficiencies and gaps in knowledge gained in school. After completing this internship, the officer cadet should be prepared to perform all service duties in leading and training subordinates and to accept full material responsibility for property and equipment of the subunit under his command.

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[4] Officer cadets training in permanent warrant billets can, upon transfer to the reserve, be promoted to master sergeant; officer cadets training in professional noncommissioned officer billets can be promoted to sergeant; and officer cadets training in regular service noncommissioned officer billets can, upon transfer to the reserve, become a platoon leader. Further promotions, to the rank of officer inclusive, can occur after satisfactory completion of reserve drills.

Ideological, Political, Moral Formation

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 11, Nov 80 pp 60-62

[Article by Lt Col Andrzej Ciechanowski and Lt Col Zygmunt Adamski: "Forming Ethical and Moral Attitudes of Officer Cadets in High Officers Schools"]

[Text] The primary goal of ethical-moral training of officer cadets is inculcation with ideological concepts. This is facilitated with deep knowledge of marxism-leninism. Education in this field cannot consist simply of courses in sociopolitical subjects, but must be a part of all courses and the work of subunit leaders. Their

activities should be directed towards obtaining the cadet's solid approval of the regime's assumptions on socialism and the party program. It should come through in the daily teaching and particularly in forming the ability to make class analyses and interpret socioeconomic, politico-military and cultural events in Poland and the world.

Marxism-leninism so conceived demands that all teachers inculcate in their officer cadets an emotional and active feeling toward teaching-training assignments. How these assignments are completed should be a measure of the cadet's involvement in the accomplishment of the college graduate's basic obligation. Ideology is also expressed by internationalist attitude, total approval of party policies and unity of action by countries in the socialist community, and support and assistance granted by these countries to national-freedom and progressive social movements.

Ideological attitudes are not formed effectively simply by awareness of events and phenomena. Examples that play on the emotions, role models from literature and the arts, and the example set by teachers, all play an important part in this process. A true expression of ideology is the cadet's resistance to hostile ideology. In exposing the purposes of ideological diversion teachers must not only be skilled in class analyses of events, they must also employ often subtle but yet very effective teaching methods. It is well to note that the most effective method of determining truth is by open discussion. Every officer cadet should have the right to express his opinions, doubts and viewpoints. But it is the teacher's job to convince the cadet, based on his own knowledge, familiarity with facts and events, whether his line of reasoning is valid, and if not, where the error lies and on what it is based.

Instilling concepts of ideology in officer cadets thus requires that teachers and leaders be skilled in linking, in correlating and generalizing information from various branches of knowledge. The process also demands accurate formulation of study and teaching goals, their effective attainment, and furthermore, the introduction of ideology into every discipline of the higher officers school, regardless of the type of course.

Formation of socialist political awareness in officer cadets is exceedingly important. It shows the way and constitutes a powerful motive for individual activity and the activity of the entire military environment and training and social work, in strengthening discipline and the moral-political state, and in shaping socialist humanism and interpersonal relationships. Political awareness is cultivated by deepening and disseminating the understanding of socialist social-political values; identifying with principles of socialism and stimulating the need for their realization; disseminating marxist-leninist knowledge about society, making it possible to understand the mechanism of social development and the real situation in the country; disseminating information on the stages in the building of socialism.

An effective way for officer cadets to learn, to strengthen their moral-political state and discipline, and to develop socialist humanism, is by social activity. One such activity is work in social-political organizations (party committees, Union of Socialist Polish Youth committees, collegial courts, social control groups, anti-alcohol social committees, clubs and cultural councils, military circles of Polish Scouts' Association instructors, etc.) and in specific-interest clubs, courses for young people, officer cadet science circles, and also by serving as temporary leaders. It is important that every officer cadet should, during his course of

study, should get into the habit of social-political activity by working in at least one group or social education organization. To accomplish this, a climate which is conducive to such activity and to the participation of social-political teaching elements in the ethical-moral training of cadets must be created in every institution.

In instilling political consciousness into officer cadets during military training, class analysis of history is particularly important. All scientific disciplines can contribute to this. We must reach into Poland's history and the international workers' movement, and especially the national liberation uprisings and the Second World War for the proud traditions and examples of heroic figures which conform to the ideals of patriotism and internationalism. Use of historical meeting places, libraries, properly selected theatrical shows, television programs and films, can be very helpful here. Problems revealed can be explored further in organized discussions in the classroom, in planned cultural-educational activity, in after-class work, in special-interest circles, and also in personal conversations between cadre and cadets.

Amateur artistic activity is important in forming political consciousness. It is effective in cultivating esthetic sensitivity, political culture, evaluation of good and evil, thus enriching personality. The leading role in popularizing amateur artistic activity should be taken by art department personnel and the professional cadre. In so doing, the "Cultural Development Program..." will be implemented.

Human behavior is controlled by the motivational mechanism. Young people are guided by many motives in coming to a decision on a career as a military officer. Most often these are very specific, such as a liking of military service, a desire to serve one's country, etc. These are noble motives that arise from patriotic feelings and a desire to enhance certain personality traits. But some needs are much simpler, e.g., an aim to obtain a higher education at any cost, living conditions (in their opinion better in the military than in civilian life), etc. For these young people the military reality is not what they expected and they become disillusioned. Some give up their studies in the higher officers school.

It is necessary, therefore, to strengthen positive motivation, to redirect the youth to patriotic goals that will ensure proper regard for obligations, and in the future, to a profession as an officer. However, we cannot rely on enforcement methods for they are frequently ineffective. But methods of persuasion, as well as examples that act upon the emotions, are effective.

It is essential, therefore, that motives be correctly recognized during the work of the classification commission, during early assimilation, and later during years of study, so that proper methods for strengthening motivation may be adopted. The basis for this is the obvious truth which should be pointed out--that the Polish Army is the armed force of its nation and that professional military service ranks very high in society. It is understood that it is a very difficult and responsible profession demanding mental and physical endurance, personal sacrifice, placing service interests above personal ones, which often complicates family life. This should be communicated to the candidates during classification and during the early study stages. At the same time, the high rank, position, respect and social recognition afforded to the military profession should be emphasized. Later in the teaching, a love for the educational institution and service branch should be inspired. Their rich traditions and present stake in maintaining a high military combat readiness should be taught.

Honor and military pride are extremely important in ethical-moral teaching. The army's socialist character prescribes different values of a different scope than those found in bourgeois armies. An officer in the Polish People's Army, as a representative of a socialist society, must be loyal and dedicated to its leader--the party. This is manifested not only in official membership but most of all in support, defense, affirmation and active implementation of the party's program. Furthermore, the honor and dignity of an officer in a socialist army is shown in his concern for the good reputation of the Polish People's Army, in maintaining state and military secrecy, respecting national and military symbols, as well as in tactful behavior in every situation, in restraint and personal good manners. Along with these values go modesty, chivalry, and courtesy to those needing assistance, especially the aged, women and children.

Cultivation of honor and military pride is a continuous process. Aside from teaching, military ceremonies play an important role. Care must be taken to ensure that every military or state ceremony organized in the school or unit raises these values to their highest rank. The honor of representing the school, unit or service on the outside, before society, becomes very important. This involves military authority, forming a good opinion about it, obtaining the respect of the public for people in uniform. Therefore not just pronouncements are necessary, but the impeccable personal behavior of people in uniform and close observance of rules of conduct.

A soldier's word has always been highly regarded in our society. The statement of a person in uniform has been accepted as assurance that the problem would be dealt with positively. During the instruction and training process, a soldier's word of honor must be assigned the highest importance. It should inspire complete confidence and be regarded as a pledge of commitment to proper conduct and a guarantee that this commitment will be fulfilled. Lack of unity in word and deed in relation to honor and military pride should be universally condemned in cadet circles and the consequence should be an initiative from the rank and file to refer the matter to a subunit collegial court.

The fostering of soldierly comradeship is also important. The history of the Polish army proves that soldierly comradeship was and continues to be a force for welding the subunit into a collective body, thus improving its efficiency both in the face of danger as well as during times of peace. Among the many examples of soldierly comradeship is giving assistance to weaker students and vouching for a comrade during training. It is not based on toleration of a comrade's mistakes but on friendly criticism, pointing our training deficiencies and giving concrete assistance in surmounting difficulties. Such comradeship builds solidarity, instills confidence and the assurance that in moments of crises the soldier can always count on help from a comrade.

Leadership and competitiveness are also very important. They permit development of dignified rivalry while protecting the weaker and raising them to the level of the entire group.

The army's hierarchical structure makes specific demands as concerns comradeship, both of superiors and subordinates. The superior should also be a big brother to the subordinate, evaluate him fairly and help him with his problems in military and personal life. A condition for the close bond of comradeship between the superior

and the subordinate is, on the other hand, is performance loyalty. The subordinate, regardless of unofficial ties, should scrupulously perform tasks assigned to him, respect his superior's authority and place the good of the subunit above his personal affairs.

In addition to training, much improvement in instilling such comradeship can be made in party and youth organizations and in other social-political educational circles. Highly ethical conduct should be approved and emulation of such conduct should be encouraged. Immoral conduct, selfishness, apple-polishing, brown-nosing, boot-licking and career ladder-climbing should meet with swift condemnation.

The conclusions drawn from the above analysis can be summarized in the following points:

1. Imbuing officer cadets with the required ethical-moral values should be a planned, highly organized process, comprising an integral part of the "Comprehensive Four-Year Training Program for Higher Officer School Cadets."

2. The school's entire professional cadre and all sociopolitical groups should participate in the implementation of these goals in accordance with their interests, jurisdiction and capabilities.

3. The cadre's service and sociopolitical activity, as well as its attitudes and conduct after duty hours, should set an example for the cadets to follow. The ethical-moral values and standards of behavior shown the cadets by the teaching cadre during instruction should be fully reflected and proven in the daily life in the school and in the military units to which the cadets are assigned during alternating study and training.

4. All instructional-training activity should be organized in such a way as to ensure the cadets' conscious and active participation in adopting the ethical-moral principles desired in professional soldiers.

5. Instructional-training activity is directed so as to give every cadet the opportunity to express his views, opinions and doubts. The open-discussion method ("round table") is most helpful here for it makes it possible to convince the cadet by using rational arguments on the necessity and propriety of observing the moral standards contained in "Standards of Ethics..." and other documents on standards.

6. The basis for assigning tasks and accomplishing them is the principle of graduated difficulty, dependent on the cadet's individual personality traits and abilities.

7. In implementing the ethical-moral training of cadets, it is helpful to conduct periodic examinations of its effectiveness at joint meetings of the command (leadership), party committees, Union of Socialist Polish Youth committees, and representatives of other social education groups.

Various Aspects of Program

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Col Franciszek Goral: "Improving Practical Skills - Reserve Officer Cadet Schools"]

[Text] The basic task of the Reserve Officer Cadet Schools is to train military commanders and specialists so that they can intelligently and dynamically command the subunits assigned to them and ensure faultless utilization and service of combat equipment under difficult conditions and various combat training situations. The accomplishment of this task requires that the commanders instill into the cadets the principles of conduct and develop in them the mental and physical qualities defined by regulations and instructions.

In view of the intellectual level of the cadets and their ability to think perceptively, emphasis in training can be placed on cultivating habits of practical activity, mainly teaching and command skills. Cultivating such qualities as resistance to the rigors of military service and training, developing courage and physical endurance, becoming dependent on self and acting quickly in every combat situation and in various weather and terrain conditions, often requires dedication and the realization that there is no easy way to achieve a goal.

How, and to what degree, this program has been accomplished, has already been shown to a degree by the school-training results from the first session. No matter that one session's experience does not give the right to make a general accounting of training assumptions, especially since the problems to be solved are diverse--from social welfare, through school-training, to official, resulting from the universal military obligation law. Nonetheless, we can already draw some conclusions which can be applied in successive plans and training programs. The experience of the commanders and observations of the reserve officer cadets are valuable in this regard.

Cadet Roman Sokalski says: "We all have a higher education. We are able to study instructions, textbooks and regulations independently. Yet we come upon problems in interpreting some of the rules. And so we would like to obtain the advice of experienced specialists. On the other hand, squad leaders are not always competent in matters of theory; they are better in practical problems."

Hence the conclusion that we must more strictly observe the rule stated in the training program: that we must make better use of staff cadre and chiefs of services in specialist training. If this is done, the problems may be entirely eliminated.

Thus it appears that a specialist must be present not only during the seminar where he clears up problems relating to theoretical principles or teaches their practical application, but he must also be present during the practical work, where complex technical and tactical problems must be resolved.

Only training methods are prescribed in the reserve officer cadet training program; organizations forms of work, personnel complements of platoons and training groups, are left to the determination of the unit staff and to the subunits. According to Lt Roman Ornowski, most problems in tactical training are caused by insufficient

time allotted for individual tasks. When platoons are large there is little time for drill with each cadet, even when cadets are divided into subgroups. Lt Ornowski says he has to spend a great deal of time on work discussion (method applied, how to prepare the work, technical material requirements, allotment of time for problems, adapting problems to terrain, how to use squad leaders, etc.). He allots almost an hour for this, since during the above discussion the listeners show the most interest and no question can remain unanswered.

According to the lieutenant, such a methods discussion of the task (which is a form of instruction itself) should be conducted before the task is begun. During the task the cadets should follow command procedures and if something deviates from the previously established plan, the leader should explain why and reply to the questions asked in the final phase of the task. Some of the information relating to field training can be assigned the day before, e.g., during independent study.

Audiovisual aids are very important in reserve officer cadet training. Their use requires that some specific conditions be met--first of all that there is a suitable room. The cadets are surprised at the commander's impractical approach to task organization and use of audiovisual aids. In their opinion, preparation of tasks employing such aids should be entrusted to specialists.

Hall arrangement, preparation of instructional techniques and lesson plans requires a great deal of effort and this work should be conducted in coordination with all the subunits. The platoon commander cannot do this for he has to take part in the work of his subordinates. When the work program on a specific subject has been complete, the next one can be prepared. In this way, time and training facilities are used most efficiently and a high level of systematic work is assured.

One can hardly disagree with the above suggestion. It is proposed that teachers should be more selectively chosen to conduct theoretical work and they must be assured that the assignment will be continuous until the requirements are satisfied.

One of the serious problems is that of marching the cadets to the drill area. They wonder why they must cover such a large distance on foot only to ride a few hundred meters in a combat vehicle. This is caused by poor planning of the daily training. It can be corrected very simply. Field exercises, drills in topography, field athletics or double-time marches can be planned for that time span. Also, there should be more combat vehicles at the drill site, or driver training should be combined with other tasks and training groups should be reduced in size. By so doing, the period of combat equipment utilization will be extended.

Lt Wieslaw Graczyk says that the cadets frequently object to their being treated like noncommissioned officer candidates. He admits that their complaints are somewhat justified. But we must remember also that only then do most squad and platoon leaders gain experience from working with cadets who have higher educational aspirations. The training methods used in the Reserve Officers Schools, which are most often applied here, also cannot be applied indiscriminately in the Reserve Officer Cadet Schools.

Squad leaders should be designated Reserve Officers School graduates and after the first month, training should be regarded as command and instructor training. Thus all cadets will be acting as instructors or commanders, perfecting their skills in relation to their fellow squad members. This should differentiate them somewhat

from noncommissioned officer candidate trainees, whose instructor training period is much shorter. Close attention should be paid to tactical training, for here the concept of reserve officer cadet training is most apt to be distorted.

Reserve officer cadets must do independent work under direction. This applies to the whole platoon. According to many of them, they are not prepared for such form of independent study. During their college work such independent and self-educational work was done in small groups. The lack of adequate facilities in the barracks prevents independent study, so generally the cadets go to sleeping rooms, which is contrary to regulations. The problem of independent study, therefore, is a difficult one to solve. It forces the commanders to prepare an independent study program that satisfies the entire platoon.

In an attempt to deal with these problems, officer cadets have suggested that several counseling stations be set up at accessible training locations, even in the combat vehicle area and in the field. They will be used by cadets from various platoons. Counseling procedures can be worked out by the assistant platoon leaders, to whom requests for solutions to problems are directed. To make the independent study practical, it has been suggested that tactical-fire drills and exercises employing communications and combat equipment should be included in the program.

The reserve officer cadet training program problems stated here should be thoroughly examined. After solutions have been developed and discussed in teaching circles, in accordance with conditions and requirements they can doubtless be applied to the daily training. The main goal of planned training activity in the present session should be the gradual elimination of the shortcomings revealed in the past session.

Comments of Chief, General Staff

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 2 Jan 81 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Gen Antoni Jasinski by Janusz Borkowski on "Military Service for Graduates of Civilian Colleges - Reserve Officer Cadet Schools for Everyone"]

> [Text] On January 1, 1981 the National Defense Ministry's decree modifying the present system for military training of graduates of civilian colleges went into effect. The importance and scope of the changes that were made are discussed in an interview with Gen Antoni Jasinski, deputy chief, General Staff of the Polish Army, conducted by Janusz Borkowski, staff member of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

[Question] A new chater in the process for preparing reserve officers for the armed forces began yesterday. How far back does this process date and what were the principle reasons for improving it?

[Answer] Our experience in training reserve officers for the army goes back to the immediate postwar years. Methods in readying reserves developed along with changes that were occurring in the army. They were based mainly on armed forces requirements, for these determined the level of this category of reserves.

For a long time the nucleus of reserve officers was the cadre that was demobilized when the Polish Army entered into peace-time service. Somewhat later it was decided that the basic source of new reserve officers should be college graduates.

For that reason, military departments were set up in civilian colleges. Studies in these departments were combined with short-term training in military units and drills with the reserves. This satisfied, at a given stage, the qualitative and quantitative needs of the army. But the inadequacies of this system became more and more apparent, mainly due to the insufficient practical training given to the reservists. This was important both to those involved and to the national economy, for most of these people were employed in positions in production and in administration.

[Question] And that is why a better solution was sought, the best in relation to requirements and existing capabilities.

[Answer] Reserve training in military departments and during the two-months' drill camp did not keep pace with the armed forces' organizational-technical requirements. And with passage of time, these disproportions became greater. So it was necessary to make some new assumptions in training reserve officers.

Essentially the planned changes were based on placing the main emphasis on practical training for graduates of civilian colleges. Under this concept, military departments provided the graduates with theoretical and general knowledge in a much shorter time than previously. An entire semester was saved. This allowed for a longer period of practical work by college graduates in military units and the burden of practical preparation was shifted onto the army. Just as in many other countries where there is compulsory military service, it is completed either before or after college and often it is a combined system whereby some complete their service before, others after finishing school.

As a result, in 1973 Reserve Officers Schools [ROS] were organized at all higher officer schools and training centers. At the same time, a law on one-year's military service was passed. During this year, after six months' study in ROS, cadets were assigned to units to service in officer positions and also in others designated for professional cadre.

[Question] The form of training proved itself and brought the planned results?

[Answer] Yes, this method ensured the indispensable supply of properly trained reserve officers. But the army also expanded further. It was outfitted with modern equipment and new demands on commanders at all echelons, including the lowest, were made. At the same time, the demographic picture changed. There were fewer men in the age brackets liable for military service. In order to maintain the armed forces at proper strength, filling the vacancies with well-rounded people, it was necessary to tap the youth now not liable for military service, and those that were most valuable, those finishing college.

This meant that the national defense univeral military obligation law had to be extended to all youth in school, fit for military service. This complied with the principle of social equality, the same rights and duties for all citizens.

This principle was expressed by modifying the reserve officer training system and by organizing, in addition to ROS, Reserve Officer Cadet Schools [ROCS]. They trained the civilian college graduates to fulfill duties of warrant officers and regular noncommissioned officers. Thus many specialist and command positions could be filled with highly qualified soldiers.

[Question] What were the guiding factors in amending military service for college graduates?

[Answer] Both the system for training in ROS and the later procedure for training both in ROS and ROCS constituted an experimental stage. During this period both systems were thoroughly studied and opened to broad public discussion. Opinions on their functioning were expressed by the military unit cadre and students of both types of schools. These matters were also the subject of study by the Sejm's Commission for National Defense. Opinions were sought from academic youth circles and from persons who had completed long-term military training.

Results of consultations, many years of experience in training reserves and results of specially organized problem-solution games conducted in the army--at the central and district levels--made it possible to develop a new concept for training graduates of civilian colleges. We are sure that it will more fully serve the needs of the armed forces and also the interests of youth in schools.

[Question] On what is the new system based?

[Answer] First of all, and I would like to emphasize this particularly, this is a homogeneous system which gives all the educated the same chance. All college graduates who are fit for military service will be sent henceforth to ROCS. In conjunction with this, all present ROS schools will be transformed into ROCS. The study course will last four months, which means that three inductions of college graduates are necessary during one year.

Combined with eight months of practical work, ROCS will provide properly trained officer cadets for basic officer positions or others, designated for professional cadre.

Thus the future reserve officer is trained in a three-segment cycle: theoretical foundations in the military department, training in ROCS, and practical work in serving in a specific position in a unit. This system closely relates the qualifications of cadets, obtained in a civilian college, with military training.

[Question] What criteria will prevail in assigning ROCS cadets to positions in military units?

[Answer] I would like to state that the determination of the position in which he will serve will depend in large measure on the cadet himself. The basic criteria in assignment to a position will be training grades in ROCS, moral-political attitude, motivations, preferences, etc. The college's military department's recommendation to the graduate will also be considered.

I must emphasize that usually in using ROCS graduates in units they will be appointed to positions designated for professional cadre. A relatively small group of cadets

will be assigned to positions designated for noncommissioned officers of the regular service. These will be command positions, all-Army, requiring special qualifications. They will be filled mainly by graduates of humanities colleges, for it appears that this type of education by its very nature most fully inculcates the traits necessary for working with people.

Those persons not showing an inclination for obtaining the qualifications required in command or specialist positions will be assigned to service in reserve officer cadet companies. They will serve in positions designated for enlisted men. Obviously this may refer to only a small group of cadets.

[Question] What will be the training schedule for ROCS graduates?

[Answer] The eight months' training will consist of specific duties in the assigned position. During the first two months, with considerable assistance from superiors and senior comrades, the cadets will be undergoing an internship.

Training in ROCS and practical work should prepare the cadets for promotions in military grades. The newly introduced system provides that in addition to promotions in successive military grades, service promotions are also possible. The cadets who excel can be transferred, e.g., from a noncommissioned officer position to an officer position.

[Question] The new system also provides for better living conditions and considers the personal situation of the cadets. How does this look?

[Answer] Long-term military training of graduates of civilian colleges is a specific type of service. This is why conditions are different from those of soldiers in the regular service. It can be said that in many respects these conditions, insofar as possible, of course, are similar to those applying to professional cadres.

Also, insofar as possible, the cadets will be assigned field training in garrisons close to where they live. This mainly concerns ROCS graduates who finished school at the top of their class. Such procedures will apply also to those who have particularly burdensome family situations. Appropriate organizational guarantees have already been made as regards this.

I would like to state that the work initiated by the Ministry of National Defense on amending the Council of Ministers decree to make it easier for college graduates to be declared sole family providers, with the monthly benefits that accompany such declarations, is being completed.

Furthermore, college graduates who are competitively engaged in sports or who can show proof that they are in training can be assured that they will be given the opportunity to maintain proper condition. They will be assigned to appropriate positions in units or to military sports training centers.

[Question] Will there be forms of training other than those described? How does the question of military service for graduates of fine arts schools look?

[Answer] ROCS is the basic but not the only solution in the new system. Maritime and medical schools will maintain their traditional courses of studies because the

training conducted in them is singular and corresponds directly to military service requirements. It guarantees the graduates that they will acquire the necessary practical skills in the military department's extended program.

In the fine arts schools, however, military departments will be formed with programs like those in the military departments of schools that come under the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology and the Main Committee on Physical Culture and Sports. Some graduates of these types of schools will be used in military service that is fully in accord with their education. The limited number of these positions means that only a small group of such specialists will be called for training. Therefore there will be no need to send them to ROCS. It would be well if they would volunteer, or if they were assigned to these positions on the basis of selection in the colleges, with the broad participation of the student body.

[Question] Is the system described already fully formed, i.e., can we say that it is complete?

[Answer] The system is really new and as such it should be studied further. It should also be mentioned that the appropriate organs in the Ministry of National Defense will work on improving the system, taking advantage of broad public discussion, mainly seeking the opinions of those interested in military service. Needless to say, the time needed to obtain full results on how the system is functioning has to be long. Not less than two years, I would think.

I would like to say also that we are now working on the next concept for expanding the system. It provides for calling up for a short term of military service some of the youth who passed entrance examinations but have not yet begun their education in higher institutions. This could affect all youth intending to study in humanities colleges.

We also see the need to further improve the procedure for selecting cadets for positions in units. This involves the most efficient and proper utilization of their professional qualifications during service. We are also going to try to strengthen the cohesiveness of the training programs, those in effect in the military departments, ROCS and units, to maximally adapt them to the needs of the armed forces and to more fully correlate military training with the professional qualifications the cadets obtained in their studies. In this context we will be interested also in how knowledge and skills gained in military service are utilized by cadets in their employment in the national economy.

We also anticipate a broad program of activity aimed at improving conditions for fulfilling military service by graduates of higher educational institutions.

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VIEWS OF BALKAN HISTORIANS PUBLISHED IN ROMANIAN JOURNAL

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[Round table discussion with participants of the 15th International Congress of Historical Sciences, by Cristian Popisteanu, Gheorghe David, Ioan Lacusta, Ana Maria Serbanescu and Ioana Ursu: "The Experience of the Past, A Premise of the Future"]

[Text] For all the 2,715 historians from nearly 70 countries present in Bucharest in August 1980, the 15th International Congress of Historical Sciences offered an adequate framework for the complex discussions, carried out in a constructive spirit, regarding an important number of historical problems and aspects. In this framework, the great scientific forum in the capital of Romania proved especially fruitful for the historians of the countries in southeastern Europe. The fact that one of the central themes of the discussions was "Southeastern Europe - An Area of Convergence of Civilizations," that within the framework of the congress a series of commissions (on southeastern European studies, on Byzantinology, on Slavistics) were convened and that the proceedings were held in Bucharest, in other words in the capital of a country located in the geographic area of southeastern Europe, permitted this prestigious scientific manifestation to enjoy a special interest on behalf of the Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Yugoslav and Turkish historians.

Certainly, through the proceedings, as well as through the broad contacts that the historians from these countries - and from those countries represented at Bucharest - were able to have during the 8 days of intensive work, numerous ideas were discussed, a series of problems of great scientific interest was clarified and the basis was laid for certain future directions in research. This was also the reason why we approached a number of historians from these countries. The opinions expressed by them, brought together again in this sui-generis roundtable, point out the idea that the historical experience of collaboration in the past between the Balkan peoples constitutes a solid foundation for a fruitful and active cooperation between the countries and peoples in southeastern Europe.

Our interlocutors were Aleks Buda and Stefanaq Pollo (Albania), Nikolai Todorov and Hristo Danov (Bulgaria), Euthymios Souloyannis and Stefanos Papadopoulos (Greece), Rade Petrovic and Milorad Ekmecic (Yugoslavia), Huner Tuncer and Secil Akgun (Turkey), and Virgil Candea and Razvan Theodorescu (Romania).

[Question] In recent years, Bucharest has been the host of a number of international historical scientific meetings: the Congress of Southeastern European Studies (1974); the Congress of Byzantine Studies (1971) (meetings initiated in 1923 by Nicolae Iorga); the Second Congress on Thracology (1976); and, now, the 15th World Congress of History. In your opinion, what is the significance of the choice of this city?

[Nikolai Todorov] Director of the Institute of Balkanistics in Sofia: In my opinion, the most important reason is that this congress took place here, in a country in the Balkans, before over 2,000 historians from every continent. An important task of the historians in this part of Europe is to complete and to enrich the knowledge of the other historians regarding this part of the world, and the Congress in Bucharest was an excellent opportunity from this point of view. Another reason why I am happy that this congress took place in Bucharest, in Romania, is influenced by the fact that we, the Bulgarian historians, maintain excellent relations with our colleagues in Romania.

[Virgil Candea] Corresponding member of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences: Southeast Europe represents one of the areas with the oldest and most concentrated history in the entire world. Anthropogenesis, the appearance of certain techniques such as agriculture and metallurgy, and all the great eras, from the paleolithic to the Iron Age, cannot be studied and understood without studying the history of the Balkans.

Moreover, throughout the centuries Bucharest was a true political, diplomatic, economic and cultural pivot for a large area - Central Europe, Eastern Europe and Southeast Europe - and for the Middle East, beginning with the Middle Ages through to contemporary times. Today's capital of Romania was, for centuries, close to Istanbul, Salonica, Belgrade, Alep, Raguza and Cairo, one of the main crossroads of the eastern Mediterranean. This was on a political and economic level, because on the cultural level all the capitals of the Romanian countries - be they medieval or modern - until the unification of 1859, were in the eastern world and points of contact for an historical process, that of perpetuating Romano-Byzantine and Romanian spiritual creativity.

[Stefanos Papadopoulos] Professor of modern history and prorector at the University of Iannina, vice president of the Greek Committee of A.I.E.S.E.E., member of the Administrative Committee of the Balkanic Institute at Salonica: Actually, the selection of Bucharest as the host city for this congress was really a happy selection because this region (southeastern Europe or, if you wish the Balkans) was a crossroads where, from antiquity up to the modern era, diverse peoples and cultures met and blended together.

[Radu Petrovic] Professor at the University of Sarajevo, president of the Yugoslav Committee on Historical Sciences: For us, the Yugoslavs, holding the congress in a neighboring and friendly country - Romania - had a very great significance. The Romanian historians have completely fulfilled the role of a good host and excellent organizer, creating all the conditions for a good and fruitful activity.

[Aleks Buda] President of the Albanian Academy of Sciences, Tirana: I must say that, in general, this congress required an extraordinary effort on the part of our Romanian colleagues and I think that beyond the opportunity that they offered us to have an exchange of opinions, they created an atmosphere of friendship and collaboration between colleagues and between scientists who came from all the countries in the world.

[Secil Akgun] Doctor of history, Ankara: The Congress at Bucharest, where so many historians from all the parts of the world met, was, without a doubt, a success. The excellent organization gave the participants and observers the opportunity to present speeches in the field of the diverse social sciences, with 1980 thus becoming an exceptional year, especially through the publication of the congress's documents.

[Hristo Danov] Professor of ancient history at the University of Sofia: I attributed great significance to the fact that the 15th International Congress of Historical Sciences took place in Bucharest - an ancient cultural and scientific center. The climate of intensive work in a highly scientific spirit put its mark on the proceedings at Bucharest. This permitted the discussion of a multitude of historical problems, including, I would note, the discussion, for the first time at an international congress of such import, of the role of women in history and in the development of human society. This was an exceptional fact for me.

[Razvan Theodorescu] Doctor of history, member of the International Committee on the History of Art: Apparently, and only apparently, the International Congress of Historical Sciences held in the capital of our country had an heterogeneous nature, with some of the most restricted themes - in the chronological section, for example - standing alongside subjects that themselves could have constituted the object of a congress. After a more careful look, however, we slowly find that the subjects discussed covered practically the entire history, be it older or newer, of the world in its essential aspects. From the ever so complex problems of Eastern Europe or of Scandinavia to economic, social and ecclesiastic history, from the history of historiography to the history of mentality, such a broad range of subjects did not divide this "sketch of world history," but, on the contrary, welded together different historical views, uniting different ideologies and methods under the same cupola.

[Question] The ancient ties that unite the people were mentioned. This aspect is even clearer in this part of Europe where, for example, in writing the history of ancient Greece an author cannot exclude the history and civilization of the Thracians, just as the history and culture of the Ottoman Empire inherited many elements from Byzantine history and culture. The examples could go on. In your opinion, what is the relationship between national history and international history, especially with regards to neighboring peoples?

[Milorad Ekmecic] Professor doctor, University of Sarajevo: History is a unique and unified process. This is especially so in the case of the Balkan peoples during the modern period. Beginning with the French Revolution and up to World War II, the dynamics of our history, the division into periods and the social and political models are profoundly correlated with European history. National renaissance and some revolutions in Europe are reflected in the Balkans without delay. And, with regards to cultural support and support for civilization, national history and international history are interwoven. One of our duties as historians is to uncover the visible and invisible elements that unite the past of our peoples with that of all humanity.

[Virgil Candea] Because peoples are not islands of humanity, but parts of mankind in its totality, the relationship of the history of a nation with the past of neighboring peoples is just as organic as the relationship of head-neck-body-limb. How could we understand, for example, the Getic-Dacians without their relationships with the neighboring Greeks, Romans and Germanic peoples? The history of a nation must be thought of in its never ending relationship with the history not only of its neighbors, but with the history of all the peoples with whom they have ever had contact with.

[Secil Akgun] It would be very difficult for me to separate national history from universal history, especially for the countries in southeastern Europe. These countries are closely tied to the history of the western European countries, but through the intermediary of Turkey which for a long time had a dominant role, and to Asia and the Arab nations. For that reason, national and universal history form a somewhat inseparable entity. One must be directly supported by the other.

[Rade Petrovic] The problem of the relationships between national and universal history is especially complex, also raising problems of a practical nature, for example, the relationship of this in teaching history in school. But, the accentuation of general aspects should not lead to neglecting what is valuable and important on the national level.

[Euthymios Souloyannis] Doctor of letters, member of the Center of Modern and Contemporary Greek History in the Academy in Athens: In my opinion, the correlation of national history and universal history is necessary to understand reciprocally the history of peoples.

[Razvan Theodorescu] The relationship of national history to international history is a dynamic relationship, full of reciprocity and a fertile exchange of ideas. Especially between ancient peoples, these diverse relationships were permanent factors throughout history. From this point of view, the history of the central and eastern parts of Europe is, I think, an admirable example. Its general relationship to one of the major themes of the congress, of which I was a co-author, along with academician Emil Condurachi, could reveal, I think, several of these historical interactions.

[Question] What is the role of the historian in showing the ties between the histories of different peoples and, through this prism, can he contribute to building the future of mankind?

[Huner Tuncer] Doctor of history: In our times, when there are conflicts, tensions and misunderstandings between many nations, the contribution of the historian to maintaining peace should be very great. In dedicating himself to the cause of peace in the world and in revealing that which united peoples, historians can influence governments in adopting diverse political decisions. One condition is that the school book, the history book and the study of this discipline be done from the most objective position possible, without getting into polemics that can give birth to very grave misunderstandings and conflicts between nations. As a Turkish historian, I believe in the principle outlined by our great leader, Kemal Ataturk: "Peace at home, peace abroad."

[Stefanaq Pollo] Director of the Institute of History, Tirana: Clearly, understanding between peoples during the course of history is a remarkable fact that we must present both for the present and in the future. But, it is just as useful and instructive for us to remember and emphasize the class struggle and to point out the unjust conflicts and wars in order to draw the conclusions that we can use, similarly, to build a better future. In explaining events, the historian must place himself on the side of that which has been progressive and revolutionary throughout the centuries, and he must draw conclusions that can help the young generations to guide themselves in the present and to select the path to be followed.

[Question] What are the priority directions of your activities?

[Nikolai Todorov] The role of the historian in building a new world and in promoting peace and collaboration is enormous. In this context, the current congress is capable of making a decisive contribution, since the presence of over 2,000 historians from every corner of the world has contributed to a better understanding of the major problems of the contemporary world.

[Virgil Candea] More than any other meeting in the series of international congresses, the historians from everywhere have participated in this congress with the conviction that they are, in a world exclusively concerned with the present, the keepers of the global experience of the past that so much influences the future. Not just the wisdom gathered from the repetition of human deeds, but the newer discovery itself of the laws of social phenomena confer upon the historian a larger role of witness, expert and, why not, guide.

[Stefanaq Pollo] It is said that history constitutes the basis of the present in the sense that it studies and summarizes the centuries-old experience of people and their creative activities in the economic and spiritual fields. The present is, therefore, indestructibly tied to their past. And, the experience of the past must serve, to an equal degree, the building of a better future.

[Rade Petrovic] I would like to point out an aspect that clearly stems from the Romanian president's message, addressed to the congress and which, in essence, refers to the fact that the unjust and unscientific treatment of the past can lead to revanchism and even war. The task of the historian should be, by

revealing the historical truth, to block the proliferation of false views regarding the past and to point out that which leads to the strengthening of cooperation between peoples. In other words, to contribute so that historical experience can be a guide to the future and a confirmation of the Latin adage: "Historia magistra vitae." A major role in educating the masses can be played by "popular" magazines (like MAGAZIN ISTORIC, for example).

[Euthymios Souloyannis] History does not merely mean war, but also eras of creative activity. Knowing these periods, people must create peace in the entire world.

[Question] How do you evaluate the cooperation with the historians in Romania and the role of this country in the context of southeastern European history?

[Milorad Ekmecic] Our countries are tied by similar social evolutions as well as by the same goal of resisting the great powers which, throughout time, attempted to decide our historical destinies. These are precisely the reasons which encourage a more detailed, more complete reciprocal understanding. Until now, not much has been done: the fact that until now there have only been two histories of the Romanians translated into Serbo-Croatian points out that there is a broad area for action and for me, as a member in the leadership committee of a publishing house in Belgrade, I have the job of creating a program for publishing the histories of the neighboring countries.

[Secil Akgun] My response regarding the relations between my country, Turkey, and Romania will be, certainly, different from that referring to relations between Turkey and other nations. Turkey and Romania are not merely two countries that are located in the same region; they also have a common history. For years, Romanians and Turks lived alongside each other, sharing traditions, emotions and struggles. For those reasons, there is a sincere and real desire that in the future the contacts between these two countries will remain peaceful and progress along this line.

[Hristo Danov] I very much appreciate the role of the Romanian people in the history of southeastern Europe. The role of the Romanian people in the history of the world must be equally appreciated. As a Bulgarian, I cannot forget the long and heroic struggles of the Romanian people for cultural and national freedom - for itself and also for the Bulgarian people. Romania was a second homeland for the most reputed Bulgarian revolutionaries. In this context, the important fact must be remembered that in the epic battles around Plevna thousands of sons of Romania gave their lives.

[Aleks Buda] There is a good foundation of cooperation between Romanian and Albanian historians. During the course of scientific activities organized in Albania, we have enjoyed the participation of our Romanian colleagues and we have participated, in turn, in scientific activities organized in Romania. I would once again stress the atmosphere of this congress, an atmosphere from which we could only profit.

[Virgil Candea] In the closing session of this congress we presented a report regarding the place and role of the Romanian people in the history of mankind and we pointed out that Romania has constituted throughout the centuries one of the main crossroads of civilization (as has been emphasized, moreover, in one of the main themes of the congress). The role of the Romanian historian is to point out this fact and to also make it clear in the future.

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BRIEFS

CONTROVERSIAL DRAMA IN STIP--The workers of the "Astibo" Factory in Stip, who otherwise are subscribers to all the performances at the National Theater in Stip, have declined to attend the performance of the drama "Zdravo, sedma silo" by Dusko Rodev, playwright from Skopje; it is directed by Dusko Naumovski and has had only four performances up to now. In explaining their refusal to attend, the workers said that they had no desire to see a play which denigrates our self-management, devalues it, and presents matters in a false way. This drama has produced polemics in Stip. It has also been criticized in the public media in Skopje. Rodev has tried to show the life in an editorial office where everyone wants to damage everyone else. Bad inter-personal relations prevail, quarrels reign, and no one fights against such a situation, except one journalist who has no method or power for a real struggle. The ending of the drama was judged especially poor where it shows that there is no way out. Demands are heard in Stip to ban performances or to eliminate this drama from the repertoire. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 81 p 11]

DJAKOVICA SAWP OFFICERS REMOVED--Last week it was reported from Djakovica [Kosovo] that three members of the presidium of the Djakovica Opstina SAWP Conference had been removed because of inaction. One was a director, another an engineer, and the third a physician. This is the first case, as far as is known, in Kosovo that persons were removed from their function because they had not met their obligations as sociopolitical workers. But no one said at the Conference meeting that these comrades had not worked in their particular organizations. On the contrary, their contributions to their place of employment was quite noteworthy. But those in the Presidium were not nearly satisfied, so they were removed. This case is, at first glance, nothing unusual. In all our documents on collective work, leadership, and responsibility it clearly says that inactive and incapable people cannot hold leadership functions. Inadequate action by one or more members in a leadership, now when collective work is being applied in sociopolitical organizations, is felt far more than previously. Because collective work, above all, obligates equally all members of a particular forum to carry out many tasks and obligations which also means the obligation toward collective responsibility. The excuse given by individuals that they are too busy cannot be considered, because other members also have responsibilities on their jobs. Not only in Djakovica Opstina are there inactive people but practice shows that delegates to assemblies and to various organizations are also not carrying out their responsibilities. Thus, their recall can only strengthen our delegate system. [Excerpts] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 81 p 6]

PRNJAVOR PARTY OFFICIALS REMOVED--Communists and members of the basic LC organizations in the "Jelsingrad" OOUR (basic organization of associated work) in Prnjavor issued, first, disciplinary measures in the LC and then demanded the removal of persons from leading functions. There were examples of unself-management conduct by Ante Mihaljcisin, director of this OOUR (basic organization of associated work), who did not carry out decisions of the self-management organs but acted as if he were responsible to individuals whom he had gathered around him. This contributed to the fact that the basic LC organization expelled him from their ranks and started legal procedures to remove him from his position. Final warnings were given also to the secretary of the basic LC organization and to the president of the workers council and they were removed from their functions. Together with the director, they had acted in their work as exponents of technocratism, bureaucratism, and dogmatism. A warning was also issued to the president of the commission for work relations who, together with other members of this commission had sponsored illegalities in employment, so he was also removed from his function. [Excerpt] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 81 p 16]

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